

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MILAN 00371 01 OF 02 131306Z  
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 OMB-01 TRSE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00  
PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01  
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 /062 W  
-----089176 131436Z /46

P R 130830Z MAR 78  
FM AMCONSUL MILAN  
TO AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY  
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 5891  
AMCONSUL NAPLES UNN  
AMCONSUL PALERMO UNN  
AMCONSUL FLORENCE UNN  
AMCONSUL GENOA UNN  
AMCONSUL TURIN UNN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MILAN 0371

EO 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINT IT  
SUBJECT: THE DUST SETTLES IN MILAN

1. SUMMARY. WE FIND LARGE CONSENSUS HERE THAT PCI INCLUSION IN GOVERNMENT MAJORITY WAS DESIRABLE OR AT LEAST ONLY WAY OUT FOR COUNTRY OTHERWISE THREATENED WITH PARALYSIS. WITHIN DC MILAN CENTERED MINORITY WHO OPPOSED NEW ARRANGEMENT HAS SUFFERED SETBACK IN DEFEAT OF MILAN SECRETARY MAZZOTTA. BOTH HE, EDITOR MONTANELLI, AND THEIR GROUP OF ONE HUNDRED HAVE BEEN PUT RE-SOUNDINGLY IN THEIR PLACES BY DC OLD GUARD. END SUMMARY.

2. MILAN POLITICOS TELL US THAT SOLUTION TO GOVERNMENT CRISIS REACHED IN ROME-PCI IN MAJORITY AND VOTING IN GOVERNMENT'S FAVOR - WAS INEVITABLE GIVEN BALANCE OF FORCES AND CONSEQUENT NEAR IMPOSSIBILITY OF RUNNING COUNTRY WITHOUT COMMUNISTS. FROM THAT VIEW ONLY GIORNALE DIRECTOR MONTANELLI AND OTHER SUPPORTERS OF GROUP OF 100 - LED LOCALLY BY JUST-DUMPED DC PROVINCIAL SECRETARY MAZZOTTA AND FEATURING DE CAROLIS - DISSENTED. BUT  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MILAN 00371 01 OF 02 131306Z

THEY ARE DISTINCT MINORITY WHOSE TROOPS TOOK SOUND WHIPPING BOTH IN ROME AND NOW IN MILAN.

3. THAT MEANS THAT FROM MILAN VIEWPOINT COMMUNISTS HAVE RIDDEN INTO PARLIAMENTARY MAJORITY ON WAVE OF LARGE DC CONSENSUS THAT RANGES FROM EAGERNESS TO INVOLVE PCI IN RESPONSIBILITY FOR GOVERNMENT DECISIONS ON THEORY THAT WILL DIMINISH PARTY'S POPULARITY (BASE

POSITION) TO MORE OR LESS SAD-FACED RESIGNATION THAT OTHER ALTERNATIVES WERE EVEN LESS DESIRABLE.

4. THOSE LIKE MONTANELLI WHO HOPED THAT STAND BY GROUP OF 100 WOULD HALT SLIDE WITHIN DC TOWARD EVER-INCREASING ACCEPTANCE OF COMMUNISTS TELL US THAT GROUP MET CRUSHING DEFEAT. HEAVILY OUTGUNNED RIGHT FROM START (ONLY 83 OF 100 WERE DEPUTIES, OUT OF 265 IN CHAMBER), MAZZOTTA, SEGNI, ROSSI DI MONTALERA ET AL WERE MOSTLY FIRST-TERMERS WHO WERE NOT THEMSELVES HEADS OF FACTIONS AND WHO NEVER SUCCEEDED IN CLIMBING UNDER WING OF FACTION LEADER WHO MIGHT HAVE MADE DIFFERENCE. BOTH FANFANI AND PICCOLI - WHO WOULD ONCE HAVE BEEN POSSIBILITIES - PROVED UNAVAILABLE.

5. WHEN MORO AND FRIENDS BEGAN CONTACTING GROUP MEMBERS INDIVIDUALLY TO PUT PRESSURE ON THEM TO GET INTO LINE, OUR CONTACTS SAY GROUP FOLDED WITH GREAT SPEED. AT END, SAID MONTANELLI, ONLY FIFTEEN REMAINED STEADFAST. HE SAID THAT, WHEN ANGUISHED BLOC CONSULTED HIM ABOUT WHAT TO DO, HE REPLIED THAT IF THEY HAD FORTY DEPUTIES, THEY SHOULD STAY IN BUSINESS. IF NOT, THEY HAD LITTLE CHOICE BUT TO KNUCKLE UNDER AND CONTINUE FIGHT FROM INSIDE. THAT'S WHAT THEY DID.

6. THIS DENOUEMENT QUICKLY WORKED ITS EFFECTS IN MAZZOTTA - LED MILAN DC.

7. FOR MORE THAT YEAR, YOUNG, CAPABLE AND ATTRACTIVE  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MILAN 00371 01 OF 02 131306Z

MAZZOTTA HAS RUN MILAN PROVINCIAL DC ON MODERATE, REFORM BASIS AND WITH BACKING OF MOTLEY GROUP OF FACTIONS - SO-CALLED "CARTEL" - THAT EXCLUDED IMPORTANT LEFT-WING BASE PEOPLE BUT SUPPORTED BY CONSERVATIVE DECAROLIS AND HIS FRIENDS.

MAZZOTTA HAS BEEN THORN IN SIDE OF REGIONAL PRESIDENT GOLFARI AND OTHERS OF BASE FACTION WHO INVENTED LOMBARDY REGIONAL -OPEN-GIUNTA AND WHO FAVOR EVER GREATER INVOLVEMENT OF PCI IN ADMINISTRATION OF REGION. HE HAS ALSO CAUSED PAIN TO PCI BY MAKING MILAN ITALY'S ONLY BIG CITY, SOME SAY, WHERE DC IS CLOSER TO SOCIALISTS THAN TO COMMUNISTS. AND MORE RECENTLY ACCORDING TO LOCAL POLITICOS, AS HE ASSUMED LEADERSHIP OF GROUP OF 100 AT ROME LEVEL, HE ALSO BECAME IRRITATING PROBLEM FOR MESSRS. MORO, ZACCANINI, AND ANDREOTTI.

8. JUSTICE FOR MAZZOTTA WAS SWIFT, THOUGH IT CAME ONLY IN PART FROM THESE ANTAGONISTS. ENTER COMUNIONE AND LIBERAZIONE - BACKED DEPUTY ANDREA BORRUSO, ONE OF PILLARS OF MAZZOTTA'S MILAN CARTEL. BORRUSO, CLAIMING THAT MAZZOTTA WAS RUNNING PROVINCIAL DC ACCORDING TO LIBERAL-DEMOCRATIC LIGHTS THAT TOOK TOO LITTLE ACCOUNT OF PARTY'S CATHOLIC POPULIST SIDE, REFUSED TO RENEW HIS VOTES FOR MAZZOTTA'S SECRETARY - SHIP AND CAUSED HIM TO FALL

ON MARCH 7.

9. MANY HERE ATTRIBUTE BORRUSO'S MOVE LESS TO PRINCIPLE THAN TO ENVY. ALTHOUGH BORRUSO GOT MORE PREFERENTIAL VOTES IN MILAN-PAVIA CONSTITUENCY THAN ANYONE EXCEPT DE CAROLIS AND MIGHT WELL HAVE EXPECTED TO GO TO ROME AS HEAD OF NATION-WIDE C & L FACTION, HE IN FACT LIVED INCREASINGLY IN SHADOW OF MAZZOTTA. SO HE DECIDED, ACCORDING TO OLD DC WAR HORSE AND FORMER CITY SECRETARY GINO COLOMBO BACKING MAZZOTTA, TO STRIKE DEAL WITH BASE WHEREBY HE WOULD WITHDRAW SUPPORT FROM MAZZOTTA IF BASE WOULD BACK HIS (BORRUSO'S)

MAN TO BE NEW SECRETARY. BORRUSO MAY HAVE FELT SPECIAL URGENCY TO STRIKE AT MAZZOTTA SINCE HIS C & L BACKERS ARE IN PROCESS OF WITHDRAWING SUPPORT FROM DC IN GENERAL - THEY ARE NOT RENEWING CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 MILAN 00371 01 OF 02 131306Z

PARTY MEMBERSHIPS - AND BORRUSO IN PARTICULAR. THAT MEANS THAT AT NEXT DC PROVINCIAL CONGRESS BORRUSO SHOULD FIND HIMSELF IN MUCH LESS POWERFUL POSITION THAT HERETOFORE.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MILAN 00371 02 OF 02 131411Z

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 OMB-01 TRSE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01

SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 /062 W

-----089633 131435Z /46

R 130830Z MAR 78

FM AMCONSUL MILAN

TO AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY

INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 5892

AMCONSUL NAPLES UNN

AMCONSUL PALERMO UNN

AMCONSUL FLORENCE UNN

AMCONSUL GENOA UNN

AMCONSUL TURIN UNN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MILAN 0371

10. BUT, COLOMBO CONTINUED, ALL WAS NOT LOST EVEN WITH BORRUSO'S DEFECTION. SOME BASE PEOPLE HAD AGREED TO BOLT AND COME OVER TO MAZZOTTA. THEY WOULD HAVE MADE UP FOR BORRUSO'S ABSENCE.

11. ENTER MORO AND THE WORD FROM ROME. HIS SMALL GROUP OF MILAN SUPPORTERS - WHO COULD HAVE REMAINED IN CARTEL AND SAVED MAZZOTTA - DIDN'T. AFTER THAT THERE WAS NO HOPE. MORO, ACCORDING TO BITTER MONTANELLI, IS DEEPLY VINDICTIVE AND HAS ALREADY BEGUN TO SETTLE SCORES WITH THOSE WHO CROSSED HIM IN THE HUNDRED.

12. SO MUCH FOR THE DEFEAT OF THE MAZZOTTA - MONTANELLI OPPONENTS TO ACCEPTING PCI IN MAJORITY. WHAT WILL EFFECTS BE HERE?

13. FOREMOST CONSEQUENCE WILL BE FORMATION OF NEW LOMBARDY REGIONAL JUNTA ACCORDING TO ESSENCE OF ROME FORMULA. GINO COLOMBO PAINTED THIS AS CONSERVATIVE DC VICTORY OF SORTS. HAD HE NOT  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MILAN 00371 02 OF 02 131411Z

GOTTEN PRESIDENT GOLFARI TO HOLD OFF, HE EXPLAINED MODESTLY, GUINTA WOULD HAVE RESIGNED AND BEEN REBUILT TWO MONTHS AGO WITH FORMULA THAT WENT BEYOND PRESENT ONE IN ADVANTAGES FOR PCI. WHATEVER TRUTH OF THAT, FACT IS THAT GUINTA RESIGNS MARCH 13 TO BE REPLACED, ACCORDING TO PRESIDENT GOLFARI, BY NEW ONE INCLUDING DC, PSI, PSDI AND PROBABLY PRI WITH PCI IN MAJORITY BUT WITHOUT CABINET SEATS. IN ADDITION, PCI WOULD GET PRESIDENCY OF REGIONAL ASSEMBLY NOW HELD BY SOCIALIST AND WOULD KEEP CHAIRMANSHIP OF TWO COMMITTEES IT NOW HAS. NEW ALLIANCE WOULD BE BASED ON AGREED PROGRAM WHOSE DRAWING UP ALREADY WELL ADVANCED.

14. AS FAR AS POWER SHIFT WITHIN MILAN DC IS CONCERNED, QUESTION NOT YET SETTLED. PROPONENTS OF MAZZOTTA'S "CARTEL" ARE TRYING TO RECONSTRUCT IT BUT WITHOUT MAZZOTTA, WHO MOST AGREE IS OUT FOR NOW AS HEAD OF MILAN PARTY. IF THAT HAPPENDS IN NEXT FEW DAYS, NEW SECRETARY WILL BE NAMED. IF NOT, PARTY WILL PROBABLY HOLD SPECIAL CONGRESS IN SPRING.

15. WHO WILL BE NEW SECRETARY? THAT IS BIG PROBLEM, SINCE NO ONE COMES WITHIN MILE OF MATCHING MAZZOTTA'S EXPERIENCE, FUND-RAISING ABILITIES, AND NATIONAL STATURE. EVEN GOLFARI VOLUNTEERED THAT. ONE REMOTE POSSIBILITY IS PRESENT VICE SECRETARY MASSIMO GARGIULO, FRESH-FACED NEOPHYTE FAVORED BY MAZZOTTA'S FRIENDS. ANOTHER IS GIANNI VERGA, YOUNG CATHOLIC C & L MOVIMENTO POPOLARE MEMBER. BOTH, SIGHED GINO COLOMBO, LACK EXPERIENCE AND CLOUT NEEDED TO HOLD RAMBUNCTIOUS MILAN DC TOGETHER.

16. SO DC MAJORITY FORCES WHICH HAVE BROUGHT PCI INTO NATIONAL MAJORITY HAVE SUCCEEDED AT SAME TIME - WITH PERHAPS UNEXPECTED HELP FROM LOCAL SPOILER BORRUSO - IN NIPPING MAZZOTTA'S MILAN EXPERIMENT  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MILAN 00371 02 OF 02 131411Z

IN THE BUD THOUGH IT MAY CONTINUE IN MUTED FORM UNDER SOME MAZZOTTA SURROGATE. BUT FOR MOMENT, DC'S STRONGEST CENTER OF OPPOSITION TO CONTINUED PCI ADVANCE HAS SUFFERED LARGE SETBACK. LESSON WILL PROBABLY NOT BE LOST ON DC PARLIAMENTARIANS INCLINED TO CHALLENGE LEADERSHIP LINE OR EVEN-INCREASING PCI INVOLVEMENT.

17. THERE IS FEELING AMONG THOSE WHO CONTINUE TO HOPE THAT PCI WILL BE STOPPED THAT IT IS NO GOOD PUTTING ANY MORE MONEY ON DC. MONTANELLI, FOR ONE, HAS REACHED THAT CONCLUSION AND SAYS HE HAS SHIFTED TO NEW STRATEGY. HE PLANS TO BACK LIBERAL PARTY CANDIDATES IN NEXT ADMINISTRATIVE ELECTIONS WITH AIM OF GIVING DC SET-BACK TO SHOW PUBLIC ANGER AT ITS INCLUSION OF PCI IN MAJORITY AND SO TO STRENGTHEN HAND OF GROUP ABOUT WHOSE ANTI-COMMUNISM THERE NEED BE NO DOUBT.

18. BUT THAT IS MONTANELLI'S SCENARIO. PLANS OF DC MAJORITY AND PCI MAJORITY (SINCE WE ASSUME AS DO OTHERS HERE THAT NOT ALL PCI LEADERS HAPPY WITH BERLINGUER'S HALF A LOAF DECISION) RUN ON ANOTHER TRACK. WE CONTINUE TO SEE DC-PCI GAME AS THAT DESCRIBED IN OUR 77 MILAN 1618. THAT IS, BOTH DC AND PCI ARE WAGERING THAT POLICY OF BRINGING COMMUNISTS INCREASINGLY INTO GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY WILL IN PCI EYES, BRING THEM TO POWER AND, IN DC EYES, KEEP PCI OUT. IN ANY EVENT, THE MILAN LED EFFORT TO BREAK UP THAT GAMBLE SEEMS, AS THE DUST SETTLES, TO HAVE FAILED - AT LEAST FOR THE PRESENT.FINA

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01 jan 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** PUBLIC ATTITUDES, COMMUNISTS, CENTRAL GOVERNMENT, POLITICAL SITUATION  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 13 mar 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1978MILAN00371  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D780111-0603  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** MILAN  
**Handling Restrictions:**  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1978/newtext/t19780376/aaaacmcu.tel  
**Line Count:** 261  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** 554c74c8-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** ONLY  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 5  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** ONLY  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 06 may 2005  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 3353396  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** THE DUST SETTLES IN MILAN  
**TAGS:** PINT, IT  
**To:** ROME  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/554c74c8-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014